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TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA.
LETTER XI.

Peace Alien Act.—State of Ireland.—National Bank in America.—Trial of Sir Robert Wilson, &c.—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte.—Hired Huzzaers.

Botley, 4th May, 1816.

The Honourable House have been keeping *Holy-days*, and now they have met again; but, as yet, I am unable to perceive, that they have, whether by their prayers or their fastings, been rendered a bit more wise or less corrupt than they were before. The pressure upon the country has made some persons begin to think, that colonies, which are supported by the taxes, are no longer proper to be kept. Thus Mr. CURWEN, during a late debate, proposed to declare Canada *independent*. Certainly this would be a wise measure; but, then, there are, as I showed you in my last Number, men in this country, who regard Canada as being very valuable, because it is the sure means of putting you to expense, and of opening the way to invade you in case of war. Strange, that there should be any persons to wish to possess Canada for these purposes; but, that the fact is so, I have given you *undeniable proof*; and the reasons why such persons wish to see your country invaded, and your liberties destroyed, is now manifest to all the world.

It will seem wonderful to your Cossacks, that the “Bulwark” should still feel any alarm for its safety, seeing that it has restored the Pope, the Jesuits, the Bourbons, and has destroyed, apparently, the very germ of liberty in Europe. But, as I am now going to show you, it does yet feel rather uneasy. You know, that, during the late wars, there was an act in force called the *Alien Act*. This was a pretty enough sort of law, which enabled the government to send any alien out of the country, or, to keep him in prison. No such law ever existed in England before. But, now, a law, under the same title, is about to be passed for a time of *profound peace*! Lord Castlereagh has moved for, and obtained, leave to bring

in a bill, which leave has been granted, and, there is no doubt, the bill will speedily become a law. The particular regulations of it are of no consequence. Suffice it to say, that, in time of peace, the government will, without any form of ordinary legal process, be able to seize any foreigner, and send him out of the country. What must naturally be the consequence of a power like this, you will easily imagine. Castlereagh stated no *particular reason* for the Bill; but, the introduction of it having been opposed by Mr. HORNER, Mr. BRAGGE (a) defended the Bill upon these grounds: “Mr. B. B.—THURST justified his *Noble Friend* in calling it the *Peace Alien Bill*, on the ground that it had been so denominated after the treaties of Amiens and of Paris. “It was true that the revolutionary principles, that blazed out in 1793, had now been *nearly extinguished*; but still a remnant of jacobin spirit lurked behind, and much inflammable matter was to be found that might without difficulty

(a) This is a brother-in-law of the sly ADDINGTONS, and quite worthy of their relationship. A mean man, a lawyer without briefs, a canting, thorough-paced hack, and one of those who discovered the greatest zeal in defending the Duke of York, and in justifying the seat-selling of Castlereagh and Perceval. He has a sinecure place of four thousand pounds a year, and sits for the rotten Borough of Bodmin, which he hires of the owner, Lord de Dunstanville, a corrupt man, who, under the name of SIR FRANCIS BASSET, was one of the great promoters of the first American war. BRAGGE, upon having an estate left him by a Mrs. Bathurst, took that name in addition to his own. He is an extremely empty man, but has cant and impudence at will. It is one of our mortifications, that we are compelled, in so many cases, to submit to stupid tyrants. Only think of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT being sent to the Tower by the vote of men of this description! For two parliaments, BRAGGE sat for Bristol; but, in 1812, Mr. HENRY HUNT having declared his resolution to oppose him, the former slunk off to a rotten Borough. Bristol has *no freedom* of election. The government can always put in whom it pleases; but, the place is large, the people numerous, the poll can be kept open several days, there is danger of *peltings*; and Bragge dared not risk his sorry life in a contest with such a man as Mr. HUNT.

“ *be fired by the aid of suspicious foreigners.* At least, therefore, a *possibility* of danger existed, against which prudence required that provision should be made. *Magna Charta*, and the constitutional principles there formed for the protection of alien merchants, had often been referred to; but the power of the King to send beyond seas such strangers as should be obnoxious from their designing practices, was at least as old, if not as completely recognised. The question now was, whether the dangers of 1814 did not at present exist? and if they did, the Alien Bill ought to be passed, to show foreigners that *they could not with impunity foment discontents among the people against the established government.*”

Thus, then, your Cossacks will see, that the “ *Bulwark*” yet feels some uneasiness. It fears something. It fears, that foreigners may set off the “ *inflammable matter*,” and “ *foment discontents among the people against the *Established Government.**” You see how *wary* the OLD “ *BULWARK*” is! How watchful; how “ *nice and tight*” it means to keep things!

And, I beg of you to believe, that this Bill, when it shall become a law, is by no means to be considered as a *dead letter*; that it will be a source of action, and of very vigorous action too. For instance, if a foreigner were intimate with *me*, some spy would give information of the fact, and my friend would be sent off. If a foreigner were to be heard to speak *contemptuously* of any of the Royal Family, (though we constantly do it ourselves,) he would be driven out. There was a Frenchman, with whom a nobleman’s daughter had fallen in love, (I forget the names,) and the Duke of Portland, then Secretary of State, packed him off at the risk of his being guillotined. But, there was one transaction, which was of a deeper die. Two French noblemen, emigrants, brought over immense sums of money. They lent it, on *Bond*, to *three brothers of a very profligate family*. When the bonds became due, they *demanded their money*. They could not obtain it. They commenced legal proceedings; or, at least, went to consult lawyers. Being alien enemies, they could not sue. They threatened to *sell the bonds*. And, (hear it and shudder!) they were sent out of the country; they were landed in France;

and the bonds were paid off by the guillotine. The three brothers were the *three eldest of seven*. The names of the Frenchmen I have forgotten. If I were in London, I could obtain them in an hour. But, the facts are perfectly notorious; and, the transaction is, perhaps, the very basest to be found in the records of human villany. There was, however, something not much short of it in the conduct of a London merchant, who died about 16 or 17 years ago, amazingly rich, and who left an enormous legacy to accumulate in the Funds, and whose son has since been made a Lord. This man, himself of French extraction and connexion, received more than a million of money from France in specie, consigned to him by persons, who, somehow or other, were soon afterwards put to death. But they did not come to England, as in the former case. He was, however, strongly suspected of having *sent over* the information that relieved him from the demands of the consignors. The present Alien act cannot be made to cancel a bond, or pay a debt; but, it can be made use of for many other detestable purposes, and especially as an instrument of political persecution; though those profound hypocrites, the Addingtons, who will now have the power more immediately in their hands, pretend that they have never abused their authority. This is the way in which former acts have been used, and this is the sort of use to which this act will be put.

If your government were thus, and for a permanency too, armed with an act like this, what sort of a state should you think yourselves in? Yet, *Americans* will be *Aliens* in England, and will be subjected to the operation of this act. The government here may, whenever it pleases, send any American out of the country. If a Cossack were to come here, and possess ever so much property, and were to become discontented with the government, (which all American Cossacks do before they have lived many months under the “ *Bulwark*,”) he might be, at any moment, forced to depart. The Englishmen, in America, complained most bitterly of being compelled to *retire back into the country*, during the late war; though this compulsion was confined, or, at least, intended to be confined, to such only as were not become citizens of the United States, and as openly professed a wish to see the enemy succeed in the war against you. What would

those persons say, if you had an Alien act in time of peace? Yet, what impudence and insolence, what slave-like effrontery must they have to complain of you, if you were to give your government the same power over them that our government has over Americans in England?

But, you are too wise to give your government any such power over any body, and your government, strong in the affections of the people, from whom it so immediately emanates, stands in need of no such power. It needs neither *guards* nor *police*. Louis, (b) surrounded by a hundred thousand bayonets, and, perhaps, ten thousand spies, would give half his dominions to feel the security that is felt by Mr. MADISON, who has no other protection than what is afforded by his coat, waistcoat, and shirt. Thus it ought to be with the Chief Magistrate of every country. He *ought* to have *no security*, but what he derives from the love of the people, and the ordinary force of the laws. The very name of guards and spies, indicates that there is *danger*; and, whence can the danger come but from some *hostile feeling in the people*, and in a considerable portion of the people too? And, what an acknowledgment is this to make to the world!

The American government has acquired a wonderful stock of reputation since the year 1811. Before that time, it was supposed to be a *mere experiment*; it was, by great numbers in Europe, regarded as a sort of Utopian scheme, which the first war would prove to be unfit for practice, and, of course, wholly unworthy of imitation; but, the late war, which attracted

(b) George is pretty nearly in the same state. He moves *nowhere*, not even to Windsor, without *guards*. He has ventured only once to the Parliament House; and, then, like his father, he went in a *bullet-proof coach*, with horse-guards *ten deep* on each side, and forty deep behind and before. Of course, he could not be assailed by any thing but hisses, and groans, and hootings. The fact of the *bullet-proof coach* is curious. However, it is notorious, that the old King, that "*father of his people*," that "*beloved sovereign*," never went out amongst his "*loving subjects*," for the last 20 years of his active life, except in a coach made proof against bullets. This fact, which any American coming to London may ascertain by going and seeing the coaches, is, of itself, a history of this king's reign, which ought to be called *the reign of the Bullet-Proof*.

the attention of all the civilized world, has fixed its character upon a rock. The combat was of a nature well calculated to interest deeply the feelings of every man sincerely attached to the cause of freedom. It was the last of republics engaged against that power which, by one means or another, had just finished the destruction of all other republics. It was an infant navy, engaged against the great naval power of the world, who had, by hook or by crook, just finished the work of destroying all other navies for an age. It was a country with a *real* Representative Government, without Nobles, without an Established Church, without *Borough Seats*, without a King, without a Standing Army, engaged against England. It was a country, whose Chief Magistrate has a salary (for the time of his actual service) of *twenty-five thousand dollars* a year, engaged against a country, the husband of whose presumptive heiress to the throne, has a salary for life of *two hundred and fifty thousand dollars* a year. It was a country, whose Secretary of State (there is only one) has a salary of *five thousand dollars* a year, engaged against a country, one of whose Tellers of the Exchequer has a *hundred and fifty thousand dollars* a year.

On all these accounts the combat was most interesting, and the result most important to the world. It has had a wonderful effect on men's minds; and it is at work to produce great consequences in the course of a few years. When we look back to the events of that war, it is impossible not to be filled with admiration at the deeds performed by the raw troops, the uninformed soldiers, the untaught commanders, the seamen, the newly-created captains and commodores, of the Republic. Our admiration rises, if possible, still higher, at the conduct of the people at large, setting all dangers at defiance, braving the burnings, and plunderings, and devastations, which not only menaced them, but of which many of them had tasted. But, *the conduct of the government*, its reluctance to yield to feelings of hostility; its proofs of a sincere love of peace; its anxiety to suspend the effusion of blood, the moment it was begun; its inflexible adherence, however, to the principles on which it went to war; its resolution not to give up a single point after the awful change in the affairs of Europe, which let loose the whole of our tremen-

dous power against it ; its calm aspect and steady march against blockades by endless squadrons, invasions from all quarters, disorganized finances, aided by an organized faction, in a very powerful and important part of the Union ; its dignified language, and its undeviating observance of the principles of public law, and of humanity towards every creature that fell within its power, notwithstanding the scenes at the river Raisin, Hampton, Frenchtown, Washington, Alexandria, and other places ; and, above all, its unbounded confidence in the people, which induced it to trust for its safety to the known, settled, and ordinary laws and tribunals : all these traits in its conduct, and especially the latter, have excited, in the minds of all sound and reflecting men, a degree of admiration and gratitude, to which it is impossible for words to do justice. Feelings must here supply the place of expressions.

The Cossacks and the Benevolents are very much deceived, if they suppose, that even the people of England, who, certainly, (and I repeat it to their face,) have been most jealous and ungenerous towards America, are quite dead to these feelings. They have now had time to reflect ; and they now are able to look with more impartiality across the Atlantic. The close of the war, and, especially, the manner of its closing, astonished them. They are, however, still more wonder-stricken, when they hear what sort of a government that is, which carried on that successful war. They are surprised to find, that it has neither guards nor police ; neither palaces nor armies ; neither golden coaches, nor Grooms of the Bed Chamber, nor Maids of Honour ; and that the President and his wife are a mere gentleman and a gentlewoman of America. They ask how this can all be so. They know, too, that the Americans are the same sort of people that we are. That they are nothing more than English, Irish, and Scotchmen, who have crossed the sea. And, when reflection has gone thus far, it naturally goes a little farther, and asks why the English, Irish, and Scotchmen, who remain behind, might not be able to live under a cheap government as well as those who are gone to America ? *Why* guards and a police should be any more necessary on this side of the sea than on the other side ? *Why*, in short, the King and Queen, and their royal progeny, who are well known to be so much

beloved by the people, should not, especially in these times of distress, be advised by their ministers to dispense with a part, at least, of their great expenses ; and more particularly with the *military* part of their retinue ? *Why* a government, which is the “*envy and admiration of the world*,” should think it necessary to have a *police* and an *alien act* ? Mr. BRAGGE seems to apprehend, that suspicious foreigners might, “without difficulty, fire “*the inflammable matter, and foment discontent* amongst the people against the “*established government*.” What ! can foreigners *persuade* the people of England to be *discontented* with a government which, as the newspapers every day swear, is “*the envy and admiration of the whole world*?” That were a jest indeed ! What a queer idea ! Here is a government which all other nations *envy* and *admire* ; which is the finest and most lovely thing of the kind that ever was seen, or heard of ; which the English people have fought and paid most lustily to preserve ; which sheds nought but blessings around it ; which only “*raises the dews of taxation* “*that it may send them over the land in refreshing and enriching showers* ;” and yet Mr. BRAGGE is afraid, that foreigners might come here and persuade us, that it is *a bad government*, make us discontented with it, and thereby produce danger to the establishments ! What crafty as well as wicked men such foreigners must be ! We are living here under this same established government ; we are in full enjoyment of all its blessings, even as administered by Mr. BRAGGE himself in part ; we boast of it as the model of perfection ; we call it the *envy and admiration of the world* ; and yet an alien law, a law to enable the ministers to send foreigners out of the country, is thought necessary in order to preserve this government *against us* !

The plain truth is this : the government knows very well, that it is so thoroughly detested by a great part of the people, that, without the protection of a military force, it could not stand a week. Were there not from five to twenty thousand soldiers capable of being called in at an hour's notice, the Honourable People at St. Stephen's would be tumbled out of the window into the Thames before to-morrow night at twelve o'clock. But, as to foreigners, the power of sending them out of the country is intended as a means of keeping

out the Frenchmen who may now wish to get away from the claws of the Bourbons. The measure is intended to operate like the pious dragoons of the pious Louis XIV., who, when they had set the house of a Protestant on fire, stopped the inhabitants, who were endeavouring to escape, and *flung them back into the flames*: a proceeding quite worthy of the imitation of such men as the cold-blooded Castlereagh and Liverpool. Thus, then, while Wellington is making use of the cat's-paw Bourbon, in France, to murder, exile, and imprison the brave men of that country, Castlereagh is passing a law by his corrupt parliament to prevent, as far as he can, any of those brave men from escaping. This is not the *only*, but it is the *main* object of the law, the execution of which is to be committed to the dirty, and unfeeling, and cowardly Addingtons.

However, let the Bill pass. It will do you no harm; but, on the contrary, it will do you a great deal of good; for it will send many hundreds of ingenious and enterprising Frenchmen, and other Foreigners, to your country, who might otherwise come to this. Your government stands in no need of an alien law; it is not at all afraid, that foreigners will succeed in fomenting discontents against it, though there is a faction of Cossacks in America, and though we all know, that there are such men as *Captain Henry* upon the face of the earth. Your government must, as it ought, stand or fall by the will of the people. It need give itself no uneasiness about the secret *emissaries*, which the writer, mentioned in my last Number, proposes to have sent out. If the people *can* be seduced by such emissaries, the government *cannot* stand. It is, therefore, never worth while to arm the government with any extraordinary powers against the *emissaries*; for, if that were done, the government would be no longer the same; you would lose your freedom, and then it would be of no use to have preserved the government. Nevertheless, it is proper that you should be informed, that there are writers here, who openly, and in so many words, recommend to the government to send out numerous spies into your country; and, you will observe, that it is at the very moment when this work is selling in the booksellers' shops, that the government is proposing a law to enable it to send aliens out of the country, lest those aliens should

succeed in persuading the people of England, that their government, which is "the envy and admiration of the world," is a *bad government*.

From a subject like that of the Peace Alien Act, the Honourable Body, of whose proceedings we are speaking, naturally enough come to the *Peace State of Ireland*. On the 26th instant, Sir JOHN NEWPORT, the honest little man, whose character I gave you in a note, a few numbers back, brought forward a motion for *an inquiry into the causes* of the terrible state in which that unhappy country remains. This was opposed by MR. PEEL, who is what is called *Chief Secretary* for Ireland, and, as I have before observed, is by no means an unworthy successor of Castlereagh in that office. MR. PLUNKETT spoke on the side of Sir JOHN NEWPORT; and MR. GRATTAN partly on one side and partly on the other. At last the motion was negatived by a large majority.

This subject is a very interesting one to the whole civilized world; and, it is more particularly interesting to you. As to the *causes* of the troubles and miseries in Ireland, I have described them to you before. They are the endless extortions of a set of cruel tyrants, ecclesiastical and lay; the corruptions of the Boroughmongers; and the insults of an insolent English and Scotch army, who treat the people of Ireland as if they were so many brutes. These, in few and plain words, are the real causes of the troubles, and distresses, and miseries of that country, for which nature has done so much. I need not here tell you how Ireland is governed, having, in No. 10 of this volume, given you a copy, word for word, of the famous Act, drawn up by Grattan and passed by Perceval, in 1806. This document, the joint work of the two parties who are contending for power, is the best proof that can be resorted to. MR. PEEL complained of having been misrepresented; said that the government was mild and excessively humane; asserted that the *press* (poor debased thing!) made the people discontented. But, you and I will have no dispute about the matter. We take the Act of Parliament of 1806; we read it; and, when we have done that, we know all about the thing pretty nearly as well as if we were in Ireland.

But, for the benefit of the Cossacks, I will here insert a passage or two of the speeches made upon this occasion; the

cause these speeches contain, not what *I say*, or what the Irish themselves say ; but what the parliament says. Mr. PEEL thus described the state of the country : “ At present it was difficult to say what “ was the cause or pretext of the lawless “ proceedings which took place. They “ seemed to have no professed object, but “ were *combinations in crime*, and *confe- derations against all law*. He did not “ know what *other character* to ascribe to “ them. They were not directed against “ Protestants ; they did not originate in “ any party animosity ; but the House “ would see, from records which he should “ be enabled to produce, symptoms of “ such *untameable ferocity*, such *systematic guilt*, supported by systematic perjury, “ as imagination could scarcely equal. “ He did not rise to malign the character “ of the Irish peasantry, than whom, in “ some parts of that kingdom, he had ne- “ ver seen a body of men more peaceable, “ more obedient to law, or *more respect- ful to their superiors*. Their good hu- “ mour could not be seen without admira- “ tion ; they displayed wonderful kindness “ towards one another, and honesty in “ their dealings, and, from their early “ marriages, greater *chastity* than in any “ other country. A crime which had de- “ graded more civilized countries was not “ known among them ; and he had heard “ that there was not even a name for it in “ their language. But in other parts of “ the country the population was in a “ *state of depravity which baffled descrip- tion*. In particular districts of Tippe- “ rary the disorders were at their height. “ This assertion did not rest on the asser- “ tion of an individual, but on the records “ of a court of justice. The trials of the “ murderers of a magistrate, in that coun- “ ty, exhibited a wonderful view of the “ character of its population, of their ex- “ traordinary fidelity in a bad cause, their “ cruel revengefulness for the slightest in- “ juries, their indifference to murder, and “ their detestation of any man who, by “ giving evidence, assisted in giving effect “ to the laws. It appeared that the mur- “ der had been planned several weeks “ before it was committed. The magis- “ trate in question (Mr. Baker) was an “ indulgent landlord, and a friend to the “ poor, but a *determined enemy to the* “ *pernicious system of combinations*. In “ the neighbourhood of this gentleman, a “ cottage, which had been taken over the

“ head of a former occupier, was burnt, “ and six of the incendiaries having been “ apprehended, he had been imprudent “ enough to say, that he thought there was “ evidence to convict five of them. A “ determination seems to have been im- “ mediately taken to murder him, and “ four different parties were posted on “ different roads, through one of which he “ was obliged to pass. The intelligence “ of the murder, which was committed “ several miles from Cashel, had been “ conveyed across the country to the dif- “ ferent parties by signals. It was com- “ mitted by five persons, in presence of a “ great number of others. A gentleman “ who had been passing the road before, “ and who resembled Mr. Baker, and had “ been taken for that gentleman by the “ murderers, was witness of the scene. “ Many people were mounted on the tops “ of houses and hay-ricks near the spot, “ and, when the fatal shot was fired, *three* “ *cheers were given*. Though not less “ than *thirteen thousand pounds reward* “ were offered for the discovery of the “ murderers, he really believed, that none “ of the evidence which had been given “ was to be attributed to *this inducement*. “ Of the feeling of abhorrence entertained “ against those who gave evidence, there “ could not be a stronger proof than this : “ a man who was condemned to death “ was offered a pardon, on the condition “ that he would *give evidence*, and, after “ having actually given a part of his tes- “ timony, retracted it in open court, *his* “ wife having prayed him on her knees, “ with tears, that he would be hanged ra- “ ther than give evidence. (A LAUGH.) “ Nothing could be more sincere than the “ poor woman’s attachment to her husband, “ but her *dread of the disgrace* he would “ bring on himself was such that she would “ rather submit to see him executed ; and “ he had, accordingly, paid the *penalty of* “ the law.”

Here is a picture ! Here are scenes ! And this takes place, Americans, under a government, which is “ the *envy and ad- miration of the whole world !* ” All this is going on under that government, which your Cossacks call the “ *Bulwark of re- ligion and liberty*.” But, whence pro- ceed all this “ *depravity*,” these “ *combi- nations*,” this “ *cruel revengefulness*.” Many thousands ; nay, some hundreds of thousands of these same “ *untameable*” people have gone to America, where they

have discovered none of these characteristics. They not only behave very peaceably in your country, but they have there formed many fine settlements. Perhaps there are not less than *ten thousand* natives of Ireland, and their immediate descendants, in each of the cities of New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Yet, do you ever hear of any of this depravity; any of this untameable ferocity; any of these "combinations against *all law*," on the part of these people? You want no army, no extraordinary police, no suspension of the ordinary laws, to keep them in order. They are peaceable, laborious; they discover talent; many, very many of them, become great and most respectable tradesmen, merchants, land owners, officers in the army and navy, lawyers, public writers, and members of the several legislative assemblies. Considering the low class of life, of which the great mass of the Irish emigrants consist, my belief is, that they have surpassed in success the emigrants from any other nation. And, as to such of them as have gone to America with property or education to start with, they have certainly outstripped all others in the career of fame, as well as of prosperity.

What, then, I should be glad to know, is the cause of all this misery, violence, depravity, and ferocity in Ireland? Does the salt air change the nature of the people while they are crossing the seas? What is there in Pennsylvania, or New-York, to subdue and keep down this ferocious disposition; this disposition to combine against "*all law*?" Not a single bayonet! Nothing but the constable's staff! With ten thousand of these same Irish people in the city and county of Philadelphia, though there is a place called *Irish Town*, and a district called *Lower Dublin Township*, there have been only two men hanged in the space of 15 years, and those two were *free Negroes*. How will Mr. PEEL account for this? Will he say, that none but *good Irishmen* emigrate, leaving the bad at home? No: he will not, surely, allow, that it is the peaceable, and sober, and moral only that are so much discontented as to quit the land. However, he may say this if he likes; but, then, he has to perform the arduous task of showing how it comes to pass, that this description of persons are the most discontented with such an excellent government as he describes that of Ireland to be. It

would, I should think, be worth the while of some of that round hundred of Honourable Members, who come over to St. Stephens's from Ireland, to endeavour to find out the *recipe*, or *spell*, which the American government makes use of to *tame* this "*untameable ferocity*." If Lord Castlereagh, who, I dare say, remembers Mr. EMMET, were to write a letter to that gentleman, who is, I have heard, *Attorney General* of the great, populous, opulent, free, high-spirited, and happy State of New-York, I will engage, that Mr. EMMET would tell his Lordship how the American government proceeds with their countrymen, in order first to *tame* them, and then to keep them in a state of tameness. This would be an invaluable piece of information to his Lordship; for, in the first place, he would learn, in a very few words, what are the real causes of the troubles and miseries of his native land, and, in the next place, he would learn precisely how it is that the American government goes to work to *tame* the Irish, and, of course, what it would be wise and just to do, in order to tame those who remain at home.

As to what Mr. PEEL says about the stubborn fidelity of the Irish to their oaths made to one another; about their "reluctance to assist in giving effect to "the laws" by giving *evidence*; about the conduct of the man and his *wife*, and particularly that of the latter, though the relation of it is, in the newspaper report, said to have excited "*a laugh*" in the Honourable House, it really harrows up the very soul; and, not knowing what else to say or do, we involuntarily exclaim: what, short of the torments of Hell itself, from whatever cause proceeding, can have produced such an effect upon the minds of a people! What in all the world can have placed a people in such a state, as to induce a woman, who dearly loved her husband, to beseech him to lose his life *on the gallows*, rather than incur the "*disgrace*" of giving evidence against an enemy of the government! This woman "sincerely loved her husband," and yet she preferred seeing him hanged to seeing him live, loaded with the *disgrace* of giving evidence, calculated "*to give effect to the laws!*" How came she to regard this as disgrace? Why, her neighbours so regarded it; and, what, then, must be the state of the mind of that neighbourhood? What must have been

the *causes* of hatred so deep, of exasperation so terrible, as to induce a whole neighbourhood to mount upon houses, ricks, and trees, to behold the *murder of a magistrate*, and to give *three cheers* at the firing of the fatal shot!

Oh, no! it was not in the hearts of these people, it never was, and never can be, in the hearts of any district of people, to exult in what *they deem murder*. They did not deem this a murder any more than the poor woman deemed the hanging of her husband ignominious. That it *was* a murder is certain; that those people were under the influence of ungovernable fury is also certain: but, what was it which could have produced this furious state of mind? They regarded this Magistrate as an agent of a government which is at *open war* with them, and, of course, as an enemy whom they might kill without any crime. The government *avowedly* keeps an army on foot to collect the taxes; the people are suffered to have no voice in choosing those who impose those taxes; the people refuse to pay; the soldier comes and compels them. The laws of the land are suspended; two Justices and a Lawyer, appointed by the government, can, without a *jury*, *transport* any of the people. An army escorts the Judges, and performs the office of *hangman* and *flogger*. Now, will any man, will even a Cossack Priest dare to pretend, that the people *ought* to submit to this? If they *ought not* to submit to it, they ought, if they are able, to *resist* it. If they *ought to resist* it, they must use the same means, as far as they can, that are made use of against them. The soldiers and other agents of the government kill some of the people in order to make them submit; if the people *resist*, they must, of course, kill some of the soldiers and other agents of the government. In fact, the people of Ireland have, at this moment, as good a right to fight against the agents of the government, as you had at Lexington, or at Bunker's Hill; and, if a Cossack Priest be bold enough to say, that resistance is not *justifiable* when the government shuts the people up in their houses from sunset to sunrise, and transports them without the decision of a *jury*, he will certainly also say, that the Americans were, in 1776, guilty of most foul and unprovoked rebellion. I never can, without the utmost indignation, hear an *American* censuring the people of Ireland for their resistance of

the same tyranny, only in a harsher form, than the Americans themselves resisted. Why ought not the Irish people to be free as well as you? Why should they submit to that taxation without representation, which *you* exposed so many thousands to certain death rather than submit to? Is it for America alone to resist oppression? Or, are the Irish people *represented*? Is that vile mockery, called an election in Ireland, to satisfy the people? Are the hundred men, nine tenths of whose seats are let to hire, to be deemed the *representatives* of Ireland, when, too, the seats are owned, let, or sold by Englishmen? Are the prostituted knaves, who yearly come over to earn and to receive the wages of corruption, and who are paid for their vote out of the money raised from the sweat of their miserable countrymen; are these knaves to be looked upon as the representatives of the Irish people? What reason is there, then, for the people of Ireland to submit to such a government? No: let these knaves; let the two factions in the English Parliament; let such men as CASTLEREAGH and PEEL, abuse the Irish people, and devise means for keeping them in subjection; let some ungenerous and ungrateful Englishmen deal out their unfeeling sarcasms against that part of the kingdom, which has most profusely bled in what is called a glorious war; but, let not a single American be found to approve of such injustice and cruelty.

The Irish commit no murders, any more than other people, in America. They way-lay no magistrates *there*. If they were so disposed they might, in the course of a week, kill all the magistrates, and all the constables into the bargain, at Philadelphia or New-York. In the country parts they might rob all the houses and live at free quarter. Yet, they never do. They never mount to the tops of houses and haystacks to behold the commission of murder, and to give three cheers when the blow is stricken: they never do any such things in America. No wives of Irishmen ever go upon their knees, and, in tears, beseech their husbands, whom they sincerely love, to be hanged rather than give evidence; and, if such an extraordinary scene, a scene so shockingly affecting, were to take place in America, and were to be related in the Congress, I am sure it would not excite "*a laugh*." This fact, however, must, one would think, be false. The reporter must have mistaken some

other noise for “*a laugh.*” It is no small honour to the nerves of Mr. PEEL, that he was able to stand up and relate such a story in an articulate voice. Few men besides his noble and “statesman-like” predecessor would have been equal to such a task; but, to suppose that the members of the house of commons would *laugh* at the relation would be to libel human feeling.(c)

Amongst the *causes* of the disorders and discontents of Ireland, Mr. PEEL stated the *press* to be one; and, as this is always an important subject, we will take his very words as we find them reported. He said, that the miserable state of the country was not the fault of the government. “That state was, indeed, attributable to other causes; and among those causes, the conduct of the *Irish press* formed a prominent feature. For the main object of that press was to slander the government and the administration of the law in all its branches. Thus the Irish press, instead of contributing to enlighten or to instruct the people, only served, in the violence of its licentiousness, to provoke and inflame the ignorant poor to the commission of some crime for which they had afterwards to pay the penalty. The abuse of the press in Ireland was, indeed, a most enormous evil, for, instead of being devoted to the excitement of free discussion, or the dissemination of useful knowledge, it was employed to delude and drive the people to wickedness. The House could form no judgment whatever of the press in Ireland, from the manner in which that important and *valuable engine* was generally employed in *this country*. In fact, the Irish press, so far from defending the cause of freedom, or attracting national attention, had degraded itself so much by its excesses, by its indiscriminate abuse of public men and measures, that its judgment could not be regarded. Thus *public opinion* lost much of its due weight, and the press became effective only for doing mischief. But this could not be unknown to any person acquainted with Ireland. It was notorious that a certain publication was circulated

“widely, until the present year, in Ireland, at a very cheap rate, which contained little else than gross misrepresentation, unqualified slander, and the most inflammatory sentiment, and that a regular series of this mischievous publication was found in the possession of one of the unfortunate victims of the commotion in Tipperary. This publication, which was called ‘*the Hibernian Magazine*,’ contained, some time since, a paragraph advertizing to certain measures in this country against the alleged persecution of the Protestants in France, and observing that ‘if the pious British were sincere in their hostility to religious persecution, they would have taken some measures to prevent the murder of Catholics in Ireland, a greater number of whom had fallen victims, even since the year 1814, than of Protestants in France ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantz.’ (*Hear, hear, hear!*) After such a specimen, he (Mr. P.) did not think it necessary to make any farther quotations from the Irish press.”

Now, from what I have ever seen of the Irish press, I should suppose it to be the most tame thing imaginable. But it seems, that there *has been* (for it appears to be stopped) one publication to arraign the conduct of public men, and to censure the administration of the law in all its branches. Bless us! What a wicked publication! The cut at the “*pious British*” was cruel indeed, as coming from a Catholic, who seems to have forgotten our good and pious works in favour of the pope and the beautiful institutions in Spain. After what you, Americans, have seen in former numbers of this volume, relative to the *English press*; after the history of the Giffords, the Beloes, and the Nareses; the Bate Dudleys, the Walters, the Stuarts, the Heriots, and the account of the manner in which they and hundreds are paid and supported, you will not, I am sure, be at all surprised to hear, that Mr. PEEL thinks the *English press* a “*valuable engine*.” The truth is, that it ought to be a valuable one, for it costs a great deal of money.

But, Mr. PLUNKETT, who spoke after Mr. PEEL, said that “the government in Ireland possessed a press of its own, for the support of which money was avowedly paid.” There was no answer given to this; no denial. So that, here is a press paid by the government, and which government has an attorney general to pro-

(c) There is no doubt of the fact; for, it is inserted in the report of the debate in all the newspapers, though taken down by different reporters. But, this assembly has so long dealt in cruel acts, that they are become callous to the voice of mercy.

secute the other press whenever he pleases. I have told you before, all about our press ; but here you have it from the mouth of one of the Honourable House, that there is, in Ireland, a press avowedly paid by the government ; by that government, which is here called “ the *envy* and admiration of the world,” and which your Cossacks call the “ Bulwark of Religion “ and Liberty.”

But, if the *press* make so much trouble amongst the Irish, in Ireland, how comes it that the press of America has no such effect upon them ? If Mr. PEEL could hear that press a little ! The Irish seem no more affected by the press in America than any other people. They are not pushed on to any wicked acts by the press there. And yet there is nobody to put a press down in that country. When our heroes, Ross and Cockburn, entered the city of Washington, they, indeed, laid hands upon the newspaper office which they found there, and they demolished the wicked engine in a twinkling. But, generally speaking, the press in America stands in awe of nobody ; and yet, the Irish in that country are not worked upon to any mischievous end by the press ; though, on the other hand, there is no press in that country which is supported by the government out of the public money. How strange it is, then, that the press in Ireland should have such an inflammatory effect ! But, how comes it, that Mr. PEEL cannot make *his* press beat the other press ? His press is in perfect safety. There is nobody to prosecute his press. Yet his press is unable to counteract the effects of the other press, though it has the law on its side. Is Mr. PEEL’s press less ably conducted ? Or, has it a bad cause to support ?

Another cause, to which Mr. PEEL appeared to attribute the discontent in Ireland, was, the *ease*, with which the lower orders of people got their food in comparison with the means of the same class in getting food in England. This is the first time, I believe, that the ease of obtaining subsistence was ever regarded as tending to excite discontent against the government. At any rate, you know very well, and so do I, that the Irish in America get their living, and good clothing into the bargain, much easier than they get their miserable diet in Ireland ; and that they never are urged on by this to political discontents. Mr. PEEL says, that he is told, that land will produce three times as much

human sustenance in the potato cultivation as in any other ; but, that he wishes that the Irish poor lived upon other sort of food. *Why so, Mr. PEEL ?* “ Because “ nothing would more strongly tend to seduce them from *idle habits*, and to give “ them a *relish for domestic comforts*.” What, then ? It seems, that I have not written in vain against this “ *soul-degrading* root ; this *root of misery*,” though I have been so much abused for it both in England and Ireland, and, which is very hard, by Mr. PEEL’s own press too. But, Mr. PEEL, I do assure you, that it is not in the *nature* of the Irish people to live like pigs any more than it is in our nature. When they go to *America*, they soon learn to admit other substances into what they humorously call their “ *potato-trap*.” An “ *Irish peasant*,” as you are pleased to call him, when he changes that state for the state of an American citizen, takes the liberty also to change his diet ; and, though he be only a *common labourer*, he will show you, that he knows how to relish good white bread, beef, mutton, veal, fowls, geese, and turkeys, twenty or thirty pounds weight of which he may, if he likes, carry home every week to his family. Now, Sir, if you so anxiously wish the Irish labourer better diet and a better place to eat in, why do you not recommend a mode of managing Ireland like the mode of managing America ? It is not the soil or climate that makes the difference. For, though Pennsylvania produces some very superb things, such as the Indian Corn, the Water-Melon, the Peach-Orchards, yet, upon the whole, Ireland is as good a soil, and, upon the whole, a better climate. How comes it, then, that the poor, miserable, dirty, ragged creatures, who live upon potatoes, boiled, a half a bushel at a time, in a pot, and tumbled out upon a board ; how comes it, that, the moment they land in Pennsylvania, they become decent people, and begin to live upon bread, and meat, and butter, and cheese ? I am well aware, that it is not the Catholic Emancipation that will make Ireland what it ought to be. I am well aware, that the government can *do nothing* to restore it to happiness. But, it can abstain from doing that which makes Ireland miserable, and England too. It can abstain from taking from those who labour so large a portion of their earnings. It is quite surprising how little government need do for any community. The community, if left alone

to enjoy its earnings, and go on in its own way, will do every thing. All that is wanted on the part of a government is *to stand by and see fair play*. This was the wise principle of that wisest of lawgivers, WILLIAM PENN, whose name is a greater honour to England than those of all the warriors, all the statesmen, and all the kings she ever possessed, though he was once a prisoner in Newgate, and stood at the bar before a corrupt Judge, charged with *a libel*. Who have turned the wildernesses of America into cultivated lands, studded with farm-buildings and bespangled with gardens and orchards? Who have built all the beautiful cities, and towns, and villages, and made the numerous bridges and canals in that country? Not any government. All has been done by the people, not because government has assisted them and regulated their conduct, but precisely because no government has ever had any power to assist them, or to interfere in their affairs. Government in America means a *strong man*, who stands ready, at all times, to keep the peace; that is to say, to prevent one man from taking that which belongs to another; or to make him give it back if he has taken it. But, here, government seems to mean quite another thing. Government here is rather the general *owner* than the general *umpire* between owners; and, as is always the case in immense concerns, it manages badly. When a man, in this country, or in Ireland, receives a hundred pounds in income, the *law*, that is to say the government, steps forward and disposes of the greater part of it, in one way or another. The Church must have a part, the Poor must have a part, the Tax Office must have a part, the Excise must have a part, the Customs must have a part; and all these parts are so large in proportion to the whole sum, that the government is much more of an *owner* than of an *umpire*. Being so large an owner, having so great a share in every man's property and earnings, a great portion of the happiness of the people depends upon its mode of management; but, the concern is too extensive, it is too complicated, it is, in short, beyond the powers of the human mind to manage such a concern well.

Hence the everlasting law-making that is going on. Hence the interference of the government between landlord and tenant, between masters and journeymen between the rich and the poor, between

the priest and his flock. Hence the bulk of Statutes, now passed *every year*, is equal to the bulk of *all the Statutes passed down to the reign of the Stuarts*; the bulk of two years' Statutes now is equal to that of all the Statutes passed previous to the reign of Queen Anne; and the bulk of the Statutes of this king's reign is twice as great as that of all the Statutes passed in *all former reigns*. It cannot, however, be otherwise as things now stand; for the government is a great partner, that is, *part-owner*, in every man's goods and estate; it has its eye upon all that he does; it has its hand continually in his pocket. Indeed, the leading men of the several trades and callings are, as we all know, frequently assembled with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Board of Trade, the Colonial ruler, &c., according to the nature of the business, to consult how the several duties, and taxes, and licenses, &c. shall be settled and collected. In Breweries, Distilleries, &c., the government has persons of its own appointing, who reside constantly on the spot, and who keep the *keys* in some cases. While this lasts, there never can be any successful effort made by the people to lessen the quantity of misery. The paupers in England must go on increasing, and the poor in Ireland must become poorer still. What Paine said was perfectly true: "a rich government makes a poor people." To maintain such a power over the purses of the people, there must be *an army*; and, when an army is avowedly employed in the business of tax-gathering, there does not seem to be much necessity for discussion about causes and remedies.

Mr. GRATTAN said something upon this occasion, and, as Lord CASTLEREAGH complimented him upon his "*statesman-like*" view of the subject, it may not be amiss to see what that view was. "He expressed his *high* satisfaction with many of the points which had been so fully, candidly, and impartially discussed by the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite. The question before the House was of vast importance, and it certainly was an object worthy of the British Legislature to point out, in a calm, dispassionate manner, such means as would renovate the exhausted state of that country. The financial distress of that country was beyond conception. It had a debt of 150,000,000*l.* for which 6,000,000*l.* was paid, while its revenue was only

“ 5,000,000*l.* This presented a picture “ of wretchedness which he was confident “ was calculated to awake every painful “ emotion. He had the highest confidence “ in British energy, but that energy was “ best employed when each part of the “ country was contributing aid to the other. “ Whatever destroyed Ireland had obvi- “ ously a tendency to ruin England, and “ certainly no arrangement could be bet- “ ter than such a system of finance as “ would unite both countries on one gene- “ ral basis. As to the commercial diffi- “ culties of Ireland, they proceeded in a “ great measure from the sudden change “ of a state of war into a state of peace, “ and although he was fully sensible of “ their extent, he owned that he did not “ despond with respect to them. Let “ this country take such measures as were “ best calculated to relieve Ireland on this “ subject. The commercial principle of “ the two nations ought to be to their mu- “ tual advantage. Ireland sent Great Bri- “ tain her provisions, Great Britain ought “ to prefer the manufactures of Ireland. “ Thus it appeared to him that all the “ three branches of difficulty of which he “ had spoken might be removed. With “ respect to the agitation which exist- “ ed in Ireland, *by a good administra- tion of the government* it might unques- “ tionably be cured. It was of a tempo- “ rary, not of a permanent nature. It was “ disgraceful, but it was an *eruption of the skin*, and *did not proceed from the blood*. It ought to be put down by the “ law ; and although *in a free country* an “ effervescence of that nature could not “ be so speedily cured as in a *despotic country*, it would be more effectually so “ in the end. Above all, never let the “ Government put itself in the wrong, but “ let it so act, that the very criminal who “ suffered under the infliction of the law “ should allow the *excellence of the constitution under which he was punished*. “ From the peace which had been con- “ cluded over the whole world he looked “ for great advantage to Ireland. Ireland “ had suffered much by the war. Her “ debt had increased to an enormous a- “ mount. *Her taxes were heavier than she could bear.* She had assisted Great “ Britain in *carrying Europe through the chaos* in which she had been involved ; “ and it now became the duty of Great “ Britain to use every means of alleviating

“ her distress, and to identify the inte- “ rests of the two countries.”

Now, really, I can discover very little here either of novelty or profundity. The idea of it being difficult to subdue the effervescence in Ireland, because Ireland is a *free country*, is, to be sure, singularly happy, and especially as coming after the descriptions given by Mr. PEEL. But, I confess I find it go monstrously against the grain to be obliged to hold my tongue, when I hear it said, or see it in print, that a man who suffers under the law now in force in Ireland ----- Nay, I will speak out. Was there ever any thing so basely insulting as this ? What is this law ? We have seen, that a man for merely being out of his house between sunrise and sunset, may, without trial by jury, be *transported* by hired justices of the peace at a petty sessions, held in a private house, or even in a barn. We have seen that the taxes are collected by the army. And this is the *law*, with which the sufferer is to be contented ! And, when he is suffering under this law, he is “ to allow the *excellence of the constitution under which he is punished*.” Bear in mind that Grattan was the author of the tyrannical act of 1806. He was then, and now is, the mere tool of Lord Fitzwilliam ; he is a wretched, prostituted dependant on the same nobleman of whom Burke was the dependant and slave. Of all the Irish who assist the Boroughmongers in scourging and robbing their country, Grattan is certainly the most detestable.

What, Mr. GRATTAN, and is it only an “ *eruption of the skin*,” say you, that your unfortunate country is afflicted with ? Faith, if this be the case, the famous act of 1806, of which you have the honour to have been the author, was a pretty strong medicine for a disorder of the *skin* ! To shut people up in their houses from sunset to sunrise ; to employ soldiers as revenue officers ; to transport people without trial by jury ; this was pretty stout physicking for a disorder of the skin. Besides, this disorder of the skin, as it is in your “ *statesman-like view*” of it, has lasted for a long while. It has afflicted Ireland ever since 1806, at any rate. A ten years’ disorder of the skin is an odd thing ; and, it is, it seems, growing worse and worse, more tormenting and more tormenting, every day. If you were afflicted with the *itch*, and had been using a recipe

for ten years without receiving the smallest benefit, would you still persevere in the use of that recipe? Certainly you would not. You would, long before the ten years were out, fling away the recipe, and kick the Doctor out of doors. Why not try, then, a change of application to the irritated and half-raw carcass of your poor country? You say, that, by "*a good administration of the government*, the disorder might certainly be cured." But you *propose nothing* in order to cause this administration to be good. You say, that "the taxes of Ireland are *heavier than she can bear.*" A very sufficient reason for her miseries and discontents, but this disorder is assuredly more than *skin deep*; and, then, again, you do not propose to *take off* any of her taxes; on the contrary, you say, that her taxes are insufficient to pay the interest of her debt. All this may be very "*statesman-like*" for any thing I know to the contrary; but, I must confess that the good it is likely to produce lies too deep for me to discover.

Such, people of America, is the state of Ireland, and such the sort of discussions, which are going on respecting that country. You will have a very false notion of the matter, if you suppose, that the discontents in Ireland proceed from the refusal of what is called *Catholic Emancipation*. The only persons who really want that point to be carried, are a few great Catholic families, who want to sit in Parliament, and on the Bench, and to fill offices in the Army and Navy. Who want, in short, *their share* You understand me; I need not say more. The common people have a very faint notion of the meaning of the words; and, at bottom, the Catholic Priests by no means desire the measure, being well convinced, that it would speedily *thin their flocks*. The miseries of Ireland, like those of England, proceed from *heavy taxation*. Heavy taxation creates a numerous host of taxgatherers and endless volumes of regulations, restraints, and penal laws, and makes the government appear on every man's farm, and in every man's shop, and warehouse, and manufactory, and dwelling house, almost in person. This changes every thing. There is no longer any really *private* property or concern. The government meddles with every thing; has a knowledge of every thing; has its share in every thing, moveable and immoveable, during every man's life, and,

when he dies, it comes and shares with his children and relations in what he leaves behind him. Hence so large a part is taken away, that poverty must alight somewhere; and the payers of taxes go on pressing each other downwards, and squeezing the lowest out successively in the shape of paupers. This, talk as long as men like about *causes and remedies*, is the real state of the case; and, whatever may finally happen to us, I do most earnestly conjure you, the people of America, to put a stop, while you have it in your power, to that paper money system, that system of borrowing and bankering, which has produced so much misery and degradation here, and which, if you do not resolve to check it in time, will, I am persuaded, in spite of your free constitution of government, involve you in ruin after having produced a division of the States. You cannot imagine how corruption chuckles *here* upon perceiving that you are creeping into a paper system. A short time ago the Morning Herald expressed its satisfaction that the war had compelled you to contract 14 millions of pounds of debt. The enemies of American freedom have been uncommonly anxious to see a National Bank established. They deceive themselves, perhaps, in supposing, that the system will get along in your country as it has done *here*; but, they know well, that it must be injurious to your freedom, and, therefore, they most anxiously hope to see it take fast root in your country. It is useless to say, that your free constitution, by which the power of raising money is really possessed by the people, will enable you, at all times, to keep the system in check. When once a debt is contracted, there is a part of the people, who are, of necessity, on the side of raising money, no matter by what means. As the debt increases, this description of persons increase in number, as well as activity and weight. The facility of borrowing, will not fail to create a great debt; and that facility will arise out of a paper institution upheld by the government.

Thus, if you once permanently fix a paper department of government, I defy you, with all your elections, all your jealousy of your rights, to prevent the consequences that I have anticipated. The government will be a large part-owner with you, and that, too, without any evil design, or any fault, on its part. It must be

a large part-owner of all your property ; it must intermeddle in all your affairs ; it must load you with laws and regulations ; for, unless it act thus, it cannot obtain the means of paying its creditors, whom all the world will say, it ought honestly to pay. I do not know any thing of the *details* of the National Bank institution. I do not know how the thing is liked in America, or what the opinions are respecting it. But, I am quite sure, that it must be, or become, if it continue, a great paper machine, connected, more or less, with the general government. I know, that it will tend to keep up a system of fictitious money. I know, that it will give a great political influence to those who have the management of the machine, or any of its branches. I know, that it will give rise to, or, rather, perpetuate, a spirit of speculation ; that is to say, deep gaming under the name of trading. I know, that it will take from commercial integrity, learning, talent, and real property, a great part of their fair and just weight and influence in politics, and will transfer it to an upstart and sordid crew, with whom liberty and national honour are empty sounds. I know very well, that those who have proposed and apparently (for I have not seen any account of the Bill's having passed) approved of, and carried the measure, have no design to produce such effects ; but, I am convinced, that, in spite of every thing that can be done to guard against them, such will be only *a part* of the consequences of a *system* of fictitious money. However, if the thing is to be done, there is an end of all endeavours to prevent it ; and, all that I can say, in that case, is, that, if I should live to the end of twenty years, I shall be very happy to find that my apprehensions have been proved to be groundless.

In a late Number I observed, that the opinions of the people of England were taking a very right turn upon the subject of the Bourbons. You remember how we cheered Louis the *desired* upon his first restoration. Your Cossacks enjoyed the fine descriptions of all our nobility and gentry, and their footmen, and horses, dressed out in *white cockades*, conducting him from London to Dover amidst the huzzas of hundreds of thousands of people. You remember, that all our stage-coaches, post-chaise horses, and almost every thing else, were dressed out in the ensign of Bourbon legitimacy. And,

what is more, you remember the hundreds of millions that we have spent in his restoration.

Now, then, hear the language, not of a knot of Jacobins : not of me and others who generally think like me, but, of the *County of Cornwall*, legally assembled, with the High Sheriff at its head, and all the principal persons of the County being present. I have before given you an account of similar sentiments, contained in the petitions of other counties, and of many cities and towns ; but, you will now see, that these sentiments extend to the "Land's End." Towards the close of their petition, the Cornish men say :

" That as a Standing Army has ever been a subject of constitutional jealousy with Englishmen, the proposal to keep on foot a force of 150,000 regular soldiers ought not to have been entertained by a free Parliament, or endured by a free people ; that the alleged pretexts for this most unconstitutional measure are either unsatisfactory or odious ; that having found the laws always cheerfully obeyed, and the Civil Power fully adequate to the maintenance of good order, and relying upon our insular situation, on the invincible prowess of our navy, and the free spirit of the people, we cannot admit that a large military force is necessary in Great Britain, either for the purposes of external defence, or for internal peace. We cannot but think that if 25,000 men be requisite for the internal tranquillity of Ireland, an immediate inquiry into its present state is absolutely necessary. We cannot think that we can, by force of arms, compel the French people to submit to a Government not chosen by themselves, without trampling on the unalienable rights of mankind, without denying the justice of our own glorious Revolution, and impeaching the title of the House of Brunswick to the Throne of these Realms."

You will say, that we are come to our senses very late ; that we have first done the mischief with our eyes open, and then come and condemn what we ourselves have done. You will ask why we did not *petition* against the war, renewed against France for the *express* purpose of driving out the ruler, whom France had received with open arms ? When that war was about to begin, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT uttered, in the House of Commons, pre-

cisely the sentiments that are here expressed ; but, there were then no petitions ; not a single petition, nor a single voice in the House to back him. You will say, that you give us little credit for just sentiments which are in open opposition to our conduct. You will say, that it is the *tax-gatherer* who has brought us to feel for the wrongs of France. You will say, that it is the *expense* of keeping down the French that we dislike ; and you will say, with perfect justice, that, if we were sincere and hearty in the sentiments now expressed by us, we should petition for the *release of Napoleon*, who, as all the world knows, was really the object of the French people's choice. Whether we shall come to this is more than I can say. In the mean while two acts of parliament have been passed to make it criminal to assist in his escape, and to *make legal* the acts of imprisoning and keeping him in prison. The DUKE of SUSSEX and LORD HOLLAND have protested against these bills, and against the imprisonment itself. But, the Whig *party*, of whom Mr. BROUHAM is a sort of *acting leader*, have concurred in the *legality* as well as *justice* and *necessity* of this treatment of Napoleon. Mr. BROUHAM said, that there was but *one opinion* upon these points, and most heartily concurred with Castlereagh in approbation of all that had been done. (d) Yet, if the Cornish and other

petitioners know what they mean, they must be of a different opinion ; for, if it be to "trample upon the unalienable rights of mankind, to attempt to compel the French people to submit to a government *not chosen by themselves*," what is it to force away the man whom they did choose as their Chief, and to imprison him on a rock for life ? To be consistent, these petitioners should call for the release of Napoleon, and the withdrawing of our army from France. If they stop short of this, they subject themselves to the imputation of having just sentiments on their lips only.

However, we have, in the language of these petitions, a certain proof, that the cause of "*legitimacy*" is losing ground in England ; and, if it lose ground here, it will lose ground everywhere. Nothing can be a stronger symptom of this than what has taken place in Paris, relative to the escape of LAVALETTE. The act of Mr. BRUCE and his associates, was extremely meritorious. To save the life of such a man, under such circumstances, was brave and generous. But the sentiments, which these gentlemen have had the courage to express upon their trial, do them still more honour. They have boldly said that they considered Lavalette as unjustly condemned, and, as is stated in the public prints, SIR ROBERT WILSON has gone so far as to declare, that he looked upon the condemnation of Lavalette and Ney as in violation of the Convention by which the allies obtained possession of the city of Paris ; and that he was glad of the opportunity of doing an act, which might tend to rescue the character of his country from the charge of having participated in those deeds. (e)

(d) But, in fact, it is not Mr. BROUHAM who speaks, when upon a subject like this. It is the *Earl of Darlington*, who owns the Borough of *Winchelsea*, and who has put Mr. Brougham into one of the seats. If he gives money for the seat, it is on condition, that, upon certain points, he does not follow any opinion but that of his patron, who never comes near the parliament himself, but who takes care that his *seven* seats in the house of commons are made proper use of. Mr. Brougham is put into parliament by *one single vote*. The borough is so completely a *property*, that Lord Darlington may put in his footman or groom if he chooses. In short, Mr. BROUHAM is a mere *Barker*, a mere *Bow-wow*, of this great boroughmonger. The late Lord CAMELFORD owned the borough of *Old Sarum*, which has *three votes*. In 1802, he, out of spite to his relation, Lord Grenville, put Mr. HORNE TOOKE into Parliament. To get rid of him, the Houses *passed a law* to prevent any man being a member of Parliament, who had ever, at any time of his life, taken "*Holy Orders*." But, Mr. TooKE sat *that parliament* out. Lord CAMELFORD, enraged at this trick for defeating his purpose, swore, that, at the next general election, he would put in his

negro servant ! Unfortunately, Lord Camelford died before the time arrived ; or, most assuredly, the Honourable House would have had amongst them a face of the colour of a greater part of their own hearts. Lord CAMELFORD had a famous dog which he called *Trusty*, and which had fought numerous prize-battles. It was said that his design was to put up *Trusty* as an opponent of the *black* ; to let the former have *one vote*, and the latter *two* ! It was pity that he died so soon ; for, if he had lived, all the world would never have beaten him out of his project.

(e) His effort was vain ; for, as long as history speaks to man, will England stand justly charged with the atrocious deeds committed against gallant Frenchmen in the name, and under the apparent authority, of the Bourbons. And, here the charge will rest on *England* ; for, though the deeds are committed by the *French government*, yet, it is

At any rate this shows very clearly, that there is, in this country, a strong feeling against the Bourbons; for, you are not to believe, that these three gentlemen only have imbibed such notions. Besides, they must have been naturally anxious about their *character here*. If they had thought that their conduct would have been condemned here, they would have held their tongues. They would, at least, have refrained from *volunteering* sentiments hostile to the Bourbons, if they had had any reason to suspect, that the uttering of such sentiments would have rendered them odious in England. Therefore, you may be assured, that the tide of public opinion in England is running strongly against the "legitimates." And, however *inconsistent* this may make us appear, still the change is favourable to the prospects of freedom. No matter what *has been* our conduct. No matter what we may *have done*. No matter what may be *our distresses*. Still this is the seat of European influence; this is the seat of European *good or evil*. As to what we ourselves *really are*, very few, comparatively speaking, *perceive* it. Great delusion prevails; nor can you wonder at it, when you view the means that are made use of. But, be this as it may, JOHN BULL, after all, has some *BOTTOM* left. He is easily cajoled, and does bear a great deal; but, though I will not say, that a million of

England that upholds that government. Who can doubt, that it is this government who is the real murderer, banisher, and imprisoner? Who does not see that, in all these acts of base injustice, the Bourbons are mere tools in the hands of Castlereagh and Wellington? Who does not see, that, in these acts, the double object of the government is, *to destroy the very mind of France*, and to deter the English from thinking of following a *revolutionary example*? Nay, in the very case before us, who does not see the hand of the English government? It would very gladly have seen SIR ROBERT WILSON and his associates *hanged and drawn in quarters*, as it would have treated three Frenchmen for a similar offence; and there can be no doubt that the Bourbons and their royalists would have liked it too. But, Castlereagh and Wellington had the public feeling *here*, and even that of the boroughmongers to attend to. The bloody men knew that, if they suffered the Bourbons to apply the cord or the axe in this case, an endless outcry would have been set up against them at home; for, while we *affect* to ascribe the murderous works to the Bourbons, we all feel that our general is, in fact, the dictator, or, at least, the *permitter*, of it. He and the government know this very well; and they did not choose to be regarded as the murderers of these three gentlemen. Hence the slight punishment. Hence the sham-trial. But what base wretches must the French royalists be to act the part which *they acted* in this farcical tragedy!

foreign soldiers would not be able to seat a king upon the throne of England, I am very sure that they would not be able to keep him there for a year without three hundred and sixty-five bloody frays to encounter. If foreign soldiers were employed in gutting the museums and galleries in London, the people would not be seen fiddling, and dancing, and laughing at puppet shows and dancing dogs in the streets, as was the case at Paris.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The marriage of the Princess has taken place on the 2d instant. You will, I dare say, be surfeited with the accounts of it. It is very degrading to us that we should suffer ourselves to be unmercifully plundered by these means, at any time; but, still more so at a moment, when half a million of poor creatures are nearly starving with hunger, and who might all be maintained for months upon what is now wasting upon this German crew. Saxe-Cobourg has ordered 50 white horses to be purchased for him! He is an ugly fellow, who smokes tobacco eternally. A most uncouth, illiterate, and ill-bred man. To be sure he is as handsome as his wife, who is a fat, coarse-featured young woman, with thick lips and white looking eyes. What a scene it is! What a shame, to see a people like this; a nation of such industrious people, which contains so many brave and learned men, truckling at the feet of these contemptible creatures! However, you are not to believe the accounts you receive of the *huzzaings of the populace*. These huzzas are things contrived full as much as are the huzzas upon the stage. The leaders in it are *hired and paid* by the government. This business is conducted by persons in the *General Post-Office*, who have some hundreds of letter-deliverers in their service. These men, in their several walks, or deliveries, select *huzzaers*; and thus the thing is executed. This was the way, in which huzzas were prepared for the king when he went in state to the parliament, at the same time being cased up in a *bullet-proof* coach, surrounded with *horse-guards* ten deep, while the "loving subjects" aforesaid were *huzzaing* him on the road. The people are very *sulky* about this waste of money at such a time; and, as to the *Princess*, she may now set herself down as being as cordially hated as any of the rest of the family.